

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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TIDINGS FROM CUBA.

Havana, November, 1841.

SIR.—It is in the highest degree satisfactory to me, and not to me only, but to every friend of humanity in this great island, to find that the communications I have been enabled to make to you, in the course of the present year, have met with the approbation of your benevolent and enlightened institution.

In my last letter, by the *Express* packet, I made you acquainted with the fact, that the Spanish government had required from the Captain-general an official return of the number of slaves imported from Africa since the English treaty of 1817 came into operation. The corporations and the distinguished individuals to whom the Captain-general addressed himself, for the purpose of enabling him to communicate to the regent the information required, have since, for the most part, given in their reports; and I am happy to be able to assure you, that, without any exception, they are decidedly favourable to the suppression of the slave-trade; although, in regard to the direct emancipation of the slaves already in the island, or even to the fate of that unfortunate class to whom the name of *emancipados* has been so strangely applied, these reports display the most remarkable diversity of opinion.

In general it is not difficult, in conversing with the more influential inhabitants of the country, to form a pretty accurate judgment as to the course of public opinion; and, as you formerly saw, with regard to the memorials in favour of the suppression of the slave-trade, which were, undoubtedly, the spontaneous result of that opinion, I found the means of seizing it after it had assumed a formal and official character. On the present occasion, however, I find that the Captain-general, in addressing himself to the parties from whom he desired information, has made it an absolute condition that the reports returned to him should be under the seal of secrecy, and that their contents should not be allowed to transpire, except through the single channel of his Excellency's communication to the regency of Spain. In this way I am not yet enabled to send you copies of these reports; but I feel myself on safe ground in assuring you, that, in what I have said as to their general spirit and tendency, I am not in any danger of leading you into error.

Of the public bodies which have reported on the subject referred to them by the local government, the Royal Patriotic Society has distinguished itself by the boldness and liberality with which it has declared itself in favour of the suppression of the slave-trade, and the preparation of the public mind for the cessation of slavery itself. This society consists of some hundreds of the most intelligent and influential of the inhabitants, but they have never, on any previous occasion, been brought together in such numbers, nor have their discussions—although always devoted to subjects of public interest, such as education and rural economy—been ever attended with such an intensity of feeling as

has been manifested in the course of these recent debates. It is something new, in fact, in this island, where the press is fettered by a censorship, and where public discussion is regarded by the authorities as in the highest degree dangerous, for so numerous a body to be thus officially invited to consider a question of such vital importance as that of the future fate of the *emancipados*. It was not to be expected that, when such a subject was opened to them, the assigned limits of discussion would be rigidly adhered to: accordingly, we find, from what has transpired of the debate, that the whole subject, not of the *emancipados* only, nor even of the slave-trade, but of liberty and slavery in the widest acceptation of the terms, has been freely treated of; and thus the means have been afforded of defining public opinion, and of giving it a degree of expression and publicity little short of that which the press itself would afford.

On the pro-slavery side of the question, a certain Don José Maria Calvo has distinguished himself, by the extreme exaggeration with which he has defended the necessity of continuing the traffic with the coast of Africa. He goes so far as to declare that the existing treaties on the subject with England are intrinsically void; because the Spanish nation had never conferred on their sovereigns the power of binding them by such conventions. He took occasion to expatiate also on the selfish policy of Great Britain, whose whole object was to benefit her eastern empire at the expense of the sugar growing countries in the western world; and it is hardly necessary to say, that, not merely in his speeches, but even in the draft of the report, with the preparation of which he was entrusted by the committee of the society, her Majesty's consul was assailed, not merely as the impersonation of this egotistical system, but as the representative of the self-styled philanthropists of the London Anti-Slavery Society. M. Calvo went so far as to propose that the name of the consul, who has long been a member of the society, should be expunged from its records, and that means should be taken to induce the government of Madrid to bring about his recall. The extreme violence of M. Calvo's language found no echo, however, in the bosom of the society, and the first night's discussion, which lasted from an early hour in the evening till daylight next morning, a thing entirely unprecedented in the history of public discussions in this part of the world, was terminated by a vote, by which the draft of M. Calvo was rejected almost unanimously, only two having supported it out of a meeting which consisted of 123 persons.

In this particular case of the Patriotic Society, it will not be possible for the authorities to prevent the report as adopted, the rejected draft of M. Calvo, and even a summary of the proceedings, from transpiring and circulating in a manuscript form, and I think I may therefore promise you a further communication on the subject by the next packet.

The reports of individuals it will not be so easy to procure, but I have been promised that of the Junta de Fomento, a corporate body of great influence, which continues to signalize itself in the assertion of the principles of the memorial which has already appeared in your *Reporter*.

J. H. Tredgold, esq.

REDUCTION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES : THE BIRMINGHAM RESOLUTIONS.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.
It is known to most of those who are interested in our cause, that the course pursued by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in resisting the measure of the late government for reducing the duty on foreign sugar, was not approved by some of their country friends.

Amongst others, the Birmingham Anti-slavery Committee passed and published resolutions expressive of their dissent. As I entirely approved the proceeding of the London committee in reference to this subject, and considered the question at issue involved a fundamental principle, I believed it right to bring the matter before the annual general meeting of the subscribers of the Birmingham Society, on the 24th of last month; the following statement, together with a copy of the resolutions referred to, having been previously sent to them.

"As it has hitherto been my privilege to act with perfect cordiality and unanimity with the members of the Birmingham Anti-slavery Committee, it is to me matter of no small regret that I feel it my duty to express my dissent from a series of resolutions passed by that body, dated 2nd of June, 1841, during my absence in America.

"These resolutions refer to the proposed measure of the late government for introducing into the British markets the sugars of Brazil and

Cuba, and are opposed to the course pursued by the London Committee, which was based upon one of the measures unanimously recognised at the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and of the Birmingham society, for the attainment of its object, viz.—' To recommend the use of free grown produce as far as practicable, in preference to slave grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of the former ;' and also upon the following resolution of the general convention of 1840, of which the delegates from Birmingham formed a part :—' That, impressed with the importance of avoiding all means of strengthening slavery and the foreign slave-trade, this convention is of the judgment that the British government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market ; and that the friends of the abolition of slavery ought, in their individual character, to uphold this view.'

" The Birmingham committee state, that they are not prepared to uphold the judgment pronounced by the convention ; and, by passing and publishing the resolutions referred to, they took an active part in opposing the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society on this fundamental principle of action ; and that after the question had been decided by the House of Commons, and in a case which peculiarly entitled the London committee to the support of their country friends.

" England has expended not less than twenty millions sterling in subsidies, armed cruisers, &c., to suppress the slave-trade. Spain, Portugal, and Brazil have entered into the most solemn compacts to abolish it ; and yet, at the present hour, these countries are pursuing the horrid traffic to an extent that daily sacrifices to death or slavery one thousand victims. At the very time that our government were proposing to raise an annual revenue of more than half a million sterling by the introduction of Brazilian and Cuban sugars, for the cultivation of which there would have been required an additional import from Africa of many thousand slaves annually, they were sending armed cruisers to seize as pirates the slavers engaged in supplying these victims. It has been asserted, that to promote fiscal regulations to prevent the introduction of slave-grown produce is inconsistent with the conviction that it is more costly than that of free-labour ; but, in the luminous discussion in London on the subject, it was conceded on all hands that the slave-holder, by seizing upon the richest virgin soils, might for a time secure large profits by their cultivation ; though with dreadful mortality to his human stock. To exclude from the country slave-grown sugar is no more a denial of the undoubted superiority of free over slave-labour, than the refusal of any other stolen goods that may be offered at a reduced price : for, as slavery is robbery of the worst description, it is our duty to abstain from its fruits, both individually and nationally, irrespective of the cost of production. Our inconsistency in receiving cotton and some other articles is no reason why laws already existing should be relaxed in favour of slave-grown sugar, and that at a period when the arduous labours of half a century have resulted in the emancipation of our own colonies, and enabled us to obtain the unstained produce of freedom.

" Were this a mere question of commercial competition, I should feel perfectly satisfied to await the period when free labour would, under every disadvantage, assert its natural ascendancy ; but, when the immolation of thousands of human beings must inevitably take place in the contest, I feel bound to protest against the course it has been proposed to adopt. A pro-slavery writer has recently admitted that slaves in Cuba are worked to death at the rate of ten per cent. per annum, a destruction of life, which, if extended to the whole human race, would soon depopulate the world.

" In conclusion, I affirm, that, to abstain as far as possible from the use of slave-grown produce, and to urge the government to exclude it from the country, is the duty of all, and more especially of those who make slaveholding a bar to religious fellowship."

The annual report of the society having been read, after a friendly discussion, the following resolution was moved and carried :—

Resolved.—" That the report now read be adopted but that this meeting, having taken into its deliberate consideration the resolutions of the committee of the 2nd of June last, as well as the general subject of the admission of slave-grown sugar into the British market, feels bound to record its approval of the course taken by the London committee in reference to this question. At the same time, in reviewing the perplexing position and conflicting considerations in which the subject was at that time involved, this meeting can fully appreciate the weight of those reasons which led their committee to a different conclusion."

In publishing the foregoing, I would respectfully, but very earnestly, recommend the candid re-consideration of the subject to that part of the christian public who supported the measure for a reduction of the duty on *any* sugars which are cultivated by slave-labour. I am, very respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, 12th Month 13th, 1841.

JAMAICA : THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

THE last mail has brought the speech of the Governor on opening the legislative session. In the following extract will be found all that is pertinent to our object :—

" The relations between employers and labourers appear to have arranged themselves on the natural basis of mutual interests. The want of continuous labour is still complained of in some districts, but not so generally as before. This want is not surprising in a country where the population is scanty, and where the labouring class support themselves in a great measure by the cultivation of their own grounds. The establishment of small freeholds among this class, and the clearance and cultivation of land hitherto or for long time waste, are making continual and rapid strides, and, without removing the holders entirely from the labour market, must tend to secure the comfort of a large portion of the people. The ease, independence, and other advantages enjoyed by the labouring population, are not, I believe, surpassed by those of the same class in any country on the face of the earth ; and, although to those causes must be partly ascribed the want of continuous labour, we cannot but rejoice at so much good, and are bound to bear cheerfully its attendant difficulties. The general good conduct and orderly habits of the people, and their improved feeling towards their employers, are just grounds for unqualified congratulation.

" The views of all who take an interest in the general prosperity of the island are still eagerly directed towards immigration, as the only apparent mode of obtaining such an addition to the labouring population as is requisite for the adequate cultivation of the land, and indispensable for the development of its dormant resources. It is a happy reflection that immigration may take place to any probable extent, without interfering with the benefits possessed by the present inhabitants. You have made most liberal provision to promote this important object. The success of the measure adopted has hitherto been limited, but in some respects valuable. There has been no deficiency of zeal on the part of the officers employed in the carrying of your intentions into effect. The agent-general in the island has exerted himself indefatigably. His report will be laid before you. I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the sub-agents, as far as it has come under my observation. The commissioners deputed to North America and Great Britain, after making such arrangement in these countries as seemed calculated to advance the intended purpose, proceeded to the coast of Africa, and laid the foundation of an emigration of free Africans, from Sierra Leone, which promises to be highly beneficial ; for there seems to be no doubt that Africans are the most suitable labourers for field cultivation in this climate. Mr. Barclay's reports will be communicated to you, and furnish ample evidence of the energy, ability, and judgment with which he has performed the duties of his mission. Several importations of immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland have taken place with various results. In some instances, I understand they are doing well ; in others, I am sorry to remark disappointment and discontent, whether reasonable or otherwise, have embittered their arrival among us ; while in many cases sickness and death, although not perhaps excessive with reference to the great unhealthiness of the year, have cast a gloom over the commencement of this important experiment. There is unquestionably abundance of fertile and uncultivated land in the island, on which a large European population might be located with perfect security to their health and comfort, and with great benefit to the public interest ; but this can only be the work of time. As an immediate addition to the labouring population, the introduction of Europeans can be but partially beneficial, and the result of the experiment of this year has not been generally encouraging. I have therefore thought it right, as far as depends on me, to restrain the indiscriminate importation of European emigrants, and to limit the future supply to such numbers as can be accommodated immediately after their arrival, according to previous arrangements, in suitable localities, in a healthy climate, either on the properties of individuals, or in the public villages which it is proposed to establish. Unfortunately European immigrants are apt to prefer the vicinity of the large towns, for the most part situated in the lowlands, where the climate is least favourable to European constitutions, and are therefore too likely to suffer, unless they can be taught to appreciate the value of a more healthy location, and to accommodate themselves to the mode of life which the interior of the island offers, and which, in food as well as in other respects, is different from that which they have been accustomed to prize. An opinion too, appears to gain ground, that the ordinary rate of wages for labour is not adequate to meet all the wants of an European, considering the cost of the things which he and his family need or desire. On the whole, although I do not despair of the ultimate success of European emigration, I am of opinion that, under existing circumstances, it will be liable to disappointment to all parties, except under peculiar advantages or superior management, and that indiscriminate importation is unadvisable."

THE NEW AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND.

[From the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.]

On the eve of the adjournment of the late session of Congress, at eleven o'clock at night, the nomination of Edward Everett as minister to England was confirmed by the senate. As the name of this gentleman has been of late in all the newspapers, as well as upon all lips, in connexion with the subject of emancipation, it is probable that a brief sketch of his political career, so far as it has any bearing on the question of slavery, may not be uninteresting to our readers.

Commencing his public life as a Unitarian clergyman, he soon abandoned the pulpit for a professor's chair in Harvard University, and from thence he was translated to a seat in congress in 1826. He here signalized himself by volunteering a defence of southern slavery, in which, not forgetting his late clerical profession, he undertook to show that slaveholding and christianity were entirely consistent with each other ! He was rebuked on the spot, in severe terms, by Cambreleng of New York, and Mitchell of Tennessee, the latter of whom declared that, slave-holder as he was, he could not go so far as the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Since that period up to within three or four years, he has seldom omitted an opportunity to defend or apologise for the "peculiar institution" of the south through the columns of the *North American Review*, of which he was, for a considerable period, the editor. In 1836, he was elected governor of Massachusetts. In his address at the opening of the legislative session, he advised abolitionists to "abstain from a discussion of slavery," and distinctly intimated that a disregard of his advice on their part would subject them to the liability of "prosecution at common law." This indication of his continued hostility to free principles induced the writer of this article to exert himself to oppose his re-election, especially as the democratic candidate, Judge Morton, had avowed anti-slavery views ; and, at the election of 1836, from 1500 to 2000 votes were thrown against him by the more decided portion of the abolitionists. During the session of 1836-7, the legislature, after the eloquent and almost unequalled effort of Henry B. Stanton before a committee of both its branches, passed, nearly unanimously, resolutions against the gag-rule of congress, and affirming the right of congress to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia. These resolutions, contrary to the expectations of those acquainted with the views and feelings of Edward Everett, received his official sanction as governor of the State. In the

spring of 1838 he received from Edmund Quincy, of Boston, a copy of Thome and Kimball's excellent work on the West Indies. In a letter to that gentleman, which was published by his friend and relation of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, "with his Excellency's permission," he stated that he had looked with great solicitude to the result of the emancipation act in the British islands, believing that, if it proved satisfactory, it "would seal the fate of slavery throughout the world;" that, as far as he could see, the experiment of immediate emancipation had fully succeeded in the island of Antigua, and the system of apprenticeship in the other portions of the West Indies quite as well as could have been expected from the inherent vices of that measure. "It has," he said, "given me new views of emancipation." He concluded the letter by asking for the loan of Joseph Sturge's volume, *The West Indies in 1837*.

In the session of 1837-8, a series of excellent resolutions, preceded by two long and thoroughly anti-slavery reports, from the pen of the lamented J. C. Alvord, were adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts, and signed by Governor Everett.

Previous to the election of 1839, the Hon. William Jackson, of Newton, addressed a letter of inquiry to the governor, in the reply to which the latter distinctly and unequivocally avowed himself in favour of the great leading measures of the abolitionists. A similar letter was also addressed to the Hon. N. B. Borden, member of congress from Bristol district, in which the governor declared himself in favour—

1st. **OF THE IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.**

2nd. **OF THE IMMEDIATE PROHIBITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE BETWEEN THE STATES;** and against the introduction of any new state into the Union with the privilege of holding slaves.

Under these circumstances, the editor of the *Liberator* gave Governor Everett the decided support of his paper on abolition grounds, as even more worthy of anti-slavery votes than his competitor, Marcus Morton.

It will thus be seen that Governor Everett distinctly and unequivocally avowed an entire change of opinion on the subject of emancipation, and professed a thorough conversion to the doctrines of the abolitionists.

Governor Everett failed of a re-election in 1839, owing to the dissensions in the whig ranks on the subject of the license law. Previous to the next election he left the United States on a foreign tour, for the benefit of the health of a member of his family.

Considering the complete ascendancy of slavery in the councils of the present administration, it was to us a matter of some surprise to hear of the nomination of Governor Everett as minister to the court of St. James; and we were by no means disappointed to learn that his nomination was resisted in the senate, and laid on the table of that body by a majority of two votes.

The whig presses at the north were loud in their complaints. They had seen the right of petition cloven down—the freedom of debate annihilated; they had looked on approvingly while their orators and statesmen had sworn allegiance to slavery in the Alexandria slave-market, and under the "October sun" of Virginia—they had seen the image of slavery set up at Washington, and heard the command for all expectants of office to fall down and worship it—they had heard it announced in both houses of congress, that all practical faith in the doctrine that "all men are created equal" was a disqualification for office—a sin not to be forgiven—a stain which no political Abana and Pharpar could wash out: they had seen, without remonstrance, the nomination of a northern postmaster-general opposed in the senate, until the nominee had assured the president that he "was no abolitionist, and, if he should ever become one, he should expect to be dismissed;"—they had seen six out of seven diplomatic appointments under the new administration from slave states; and in all this had found no cause for alarm, but, from Maine to Ohio, these sagacious and vigilant sentinels on the national watch-towers passed from one to the other an encouraging "ALL'S WELL!"

But Edward Everett's nomination laid on the table of the senate! Here was an outrage not to be silently endured. Editors in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, bristled like porcupines—indignant, not that anti-abolition should be made an indispensable condition of office under the administration, but that Edward Everett should be *suspected and rejected* upon such slight evidence as the fact, that, under his own sign manual, he had subscribed to the hated doctrines of abolitionism. All seemed to agree that the test itself was a proper one, and that whoever could not pronounce the pro-slavery Shibboleth should be cut off at the fords of Jordan; but it was not to be borne patiently that Governor Everett should be taken at his word, and looked upon as in earnest in his letters to the abolitionists! There were too many, in and out of congress, expectants of office, precisely in the same condition with Governor Everett, whose letters to abolitionists on the eve of election might be used against them, provided this species of correspondence were allowed to mean anything. The *National Intelligencer*, under date of the 30th ultimo, introduced Governor Everett's slavery speech in congress in 1826, as expressing the *present real opinions* of its author, and scouted the idea of attaching any importance to a letter into which he "was entrapped on the eve of an election." "We could hardly," says the *Intelligencer*, "believe our own senses, when we heard of this objection being raised in the senate, and by whig senators—well knowing, as we do, that Mr. Everett has ever been conspicuous for his zeal in the MAINTENANCE of the very INTERESTS to which he is now alleged

to be opposed." In their paper of the 6th instant, the same editors, in reply to a correspondent who adduced Everett's letters as an evidence of his abolitionism, remarked—"We cannot listen to the charge of hostility to any constitutional institution of the south, or of any other section of the land, urged against Mr. Everett, upon SUCH FEEBLE TESTIMONY as that which is produced." Thus distinctly assuming and basing Governor Everett's claims wholly upon that assumption—that in his correspondence with the abolitionists he was a HYPOCRITE and a LIAR!

The debates in the senate on this nomination were with closed doors. In ordinary cases of this nature—as, for instance, that of Van Buren as minister to St. James's—the debates have been published. But we are told that the ayes and noes only, on this occasion are to be given to the public. The people are not to be trusted with the developments made on the occasion. The nomination at last was only confirmed by the absence from the city of two southern senators, and the absence from the senate chamber of Walker and Henderson—an absence which the Washington correspondent of the *Boston Atlas* says was "probably designed." The same writer intimates that "Senator Preston would have voted in the affirmative, had it been necessary." The correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* states that Mangum and Preston only acquiesced in Everett's confirmation, with the understanding, that, at the coming regular session, measures should be taken permanently to exclude abolition petitions from congress.

Governor Everett is now in Europe. We will do him the justice to believe that the pitiful disclaimers of his political friends, in and out of congress, have been made without his consent, or even knowledge; and that, in his letters to Quincy, Borden, and Jackson, he really *meant what he said*. It must, we conceive, somewhat abate his satisfaction in view of his appointment, to learn that it was only obtained by strenuous efforts on the part of his professed friends to show that his anti-slavery professions were purely hypocritical, and that he had been mean and wicked enough to obtain abolition votes in Massachusetts **UNDER FALSE PRETENCES**.

J. G. W.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN CUBA AND BRAZIL.

[From the *Morning Herald*.]

THE importation of slaves into Cuba or Brazil ought to be effectually prevented by the internal authorities themselves; such prevention ought to constitute a subject of internal police. That which could be and was wholly prevented in the British colonies, can also be done in Cuba and Brazil. When the British parliament abolished the slave-trade so far as this country was concerned, the British government provided against the surreptitious importations of Africans into their sugar colonies; and the increase of the black population of those colonies through the medium of the slave trade, is a crime from which Great Britain stands exonerated since 1812. Now the obligations of the governments of Spain and Brazil to follow this example are far more imperative than was the duty of Great Britain at that time; because, not only are the importations of Africans into the dominions of those states contrary to their own laws, but they are in direct violation of their treaties with other powers, and form, in fact, continually recurring causes of war. We shall doubtless be told, that Brazil has not the pecuniary means to establish such an effective police as would preclude the possibility of these importations taking place; but we can discover no disposition in the Brazilian government to prevent them, beyond mere declarations. If that government had not the means to establish an anti-slave trade cordon along its coast, it surely had the ability to protect the liberated negroes taken into Brazilian ports by British prize-masters since 1831, and placed in apprenticeship in their territories under the protection and guarantee of this country. What, we inquire, has become of these unhappy beings so liberated and apprenticed in Brazil, exceeding in number twenty thousand? Has the Brazilian government protected them during their seven years' apprenticeship? Have their wages been regularly paid? Have they whose terms of service have expired been treated as freemen? In England it is believed that these Africans, liberated by the exertions of our cruisers, have in Brazil been sold to the planters, and in their service receive no wages, are worked with greater recklessness than ordinary slaves, and should they not be killed before their seven years' service expires, that they are then made to assume the place and the name of some deceased slave, and for the remainder of their natural lives remain in slavery. The British government has lately demanded of the Cuban authorities an account of the twenty-five thousand Africans thus apprenticed during the last ten years in that island; but that demand must also be extended to Brazil.

How can any faith be placed in the government of that empire as to its disposition to prohibit further importations of slaves, when it would appear from the papers before us (Class A. p. 353) that a Brazilian deputy, who had long been remarkable in that character for his opposition to the slave-trade, no sooner became minister of the empire than he publicly declared in the chambers, that his individual differences on this subject with his colleagues, "was not a motive for him to separate himself from them!" Thus, in effect, making the question of the slave-trade an open question in the Brazilian cabinet. Besides, it would also appear that one of the chief supporters of the project of law which has already received the sanction of the senate, and is known as the Barbacena project, for the repeal of the law of the 7th of Novem-

ber, 1831, which enacted that all Africans imported into Brazil after its promulgation were to be considered free, is no other than the present minister of War, Senhor Clemente Pereira! Now, in despite of the law of 1831, four hundred thousand Africans, imported since that time into the empire, are slaves; and these men, thus illegally deprived of their liberty, constitute, from their age and their physical strength, considerably above one-third of the productive labour of Brazil. So that the Barbacena proposition—originally made as a miserable retaliation for the unsavoury reception that personage met with in this country, in consequence of his ingratitude to his former patron Don Pedro—thus supported by a Brazilian minister (see page 301, Class A.) actually has for its objects the removal of the illegality of the condition of slavery in which four hundred thousand Africans now stand in Brazil, in gross violation of the laws of that empire, and to give an additional stimulus to the slave-trade, by affixing a state of legal slavery to all Africans hereafter introduced into Brazil.

Are we then chargeable with exaggeration in describing the continually-recurring declarations of the Brazilian government of its desire to put an end to the slave-trade, and even to devise some scheme for the gradual extinction of slavery, as hollow and insincere? These declarations are mere sops, thrown to suppress and quiet the denunciations of the British people, and the remonstrances of the British government. The British nation is the sponsor of the Africans carried by British prize-masters into Brazilian ports, and there liberated for apprenticeship; where then are its adopted children? The British navy rescued them in vain from the grasp of the slaver, if they are, in spite of that release, slaves to the Brazilian planters. A knowledge of the actual condition of these twenty thousand human beings is an overwhelming and irresistible duty of our government. If we cannot compel Brazil to restore to freedom the four hundred thousand Africans which she holds in slavery in opposition to her own laws, we can at least insist on exercising our bounden rights to protect these twenty thousand negroes, whose ultimate freedom we guaranteed. No general declarations, no verbal information can or ought to satisfy the Earl of Aberdeen. The British Foreign minister, or his subordinate officials, must be made acquainted with the exact position in which each of these unhappy beings stands, and not another slave taken by a British prize-master into a Brazilian port ought to be there liberated. To continue our present practice is only to add to the slave population of the empire, and to swell out the fearful mortality of Brazilian slaves, by offering to the masters of these apprenticed liberated Africans an inducement to work them to death before the time of their apprenticeship expires.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The "Salutary Regulations," forwarded to us by the rev. J. Peggs, are scarcely suited to our columns.

The correspondence of the Dublin Anti-slavery Society with Lord Aberdeen on the recognition of Texas, we would have inserted if we could have found room.

"Lynch-Law in Texas" in our next.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 15TH.

NOTICE TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS.

With a view to the diffusion of information on anti-slavery subjects generally, the Committee have resolved to supply **AUXILIARY SOCIETIES**, for *gratuitous distribution only*, with all pamphlets and small publications published by them at one-half the usual price; and the larger publications, to **AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS GENERALLY**, at a reduction of *twenty-five per cent.*, for immediate payment.

To all subscribers to the Anti-slavery Society or to any of its auxiliaries, the price of the volume entitled *Proceedings of the Convention* is 10s. 6d.

To **LADIES AND OTHER FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE**. **COLLECTING-BOOKS AND CARDS** are now ready, which the Committee will be happy to forward to their friends in the country, *free of expense*, on application being made to the Secretary, at 27, New Broad Street. The Collecting-Book contains sixteen pages of letter press, giving a condensed view of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, together with other useful information, designed for the use of those friends of the cause who may aid the society in collecting funds for carrying on its various, extensive, and important operations. The Collecting-Book is elegantly printed in royal 32mo, and is very portable, containing, in addition to the letter press, sixteen pages for donations and subscriptions.

Our reference in the last *Reporter* to the financial difficulties of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, was accompanied with an intimation that measures of economy had been entertained and matured. Some of these we proceed to explain.

The *Anti-slavery Reporter* itself has been a source of heavy expenditure. The great importance of circulating information on anti-slavery subjects, especially among influential persons, has led to an extensive gratuitous circulation of this paper, amounting in pecuniary elements to nearly £300 a-year. In addition to this, the sale of the *Reporter* has yielded no profit, but, on the contrary, has been productive of loss; its price having been fixed so low that there is an actual loss upon every copy sold. Our readers who are acquainted with business, will not be surprised at this, when they note the following points. The price of each paper is threepence. Of this sum one penny goes to the government for the stamp; another penny goes to the vendor for profit; and one penny only is left for all expenses of production, and these are not covered by it. Besides, newspapers generally derive large resources from advertisements, which make them profitable as a whole, although they are sold freely at less than the cost of production. The *Anti-slavery Reporter* has no aid from this source. Now, among the measures of economy entertained, some have had respect to this matter. And it has been determined first, that, from the commencement of 1842, the price of the *Reporter* shall be fourpence instead of threepence. No part of the penny thus added will go either to the government or the vendor; the whole will be applied to the cost of production, the means of defraying which will thus be doubled. We are sure that our considerate friends will approve of this measure, and will readily bear the small addition it will make to the annual cost of the *Reporter*.

It has further been deemed necessary, as a measure of economy, to restrict within somewhat narrower bounds the gratuitous circulation of this paper. This determination has been taken with great regret, because so large a number of the friends to whom the *Reporter* has been hitherto sent are esteemed and valuable coadjutors, from whom the Committee are sorry to withdraw this token of their respect. But necessity has no law. They can only hope that such of their friends as may not find the *Reporter* continued to them beyond the close of the present year will appreciate the motive of the change; and that, if they cannot take it in themselves, they will look out for some friend through whose kindness the same end may be secured. The Committee know that many of those to whom the *Reporter* has been sent have rendered important service to the cause, and they hope that all have done what they could; nor can they suffer themselves to entertain a suspicion that they will henceforward do less.

This paper has been largely supplied without charge to Mechanics' and other public Institutions, where it has been thought the information contained in it might meet the eye of many. This branch of their gratuitous distribution the Committee do not mean to diminish; but they cannot refrain from expressing their hope that it makes them a valuable return. They beg to engage the attention of gentlemen connected with such institutions to the fact that the cause needs help, and to express a hope that they will not content themselves with being interested as spectators in a struggle to which they should be parties.

That portion of the gratuitous distribution of the *Reporter* which carries it to foreign countries is far too important to admit of diminution. With the widening operations of the society, indeed, it must continually be on the increase. The growing interest with which we know this paper is perused abroad, and the invaluable results to the anti-slavery cause which are in progress of effectuation by it, demand the ample support of this branch of the Society's operations.

In referring again to the proceedings at the late meeting of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, we cannot suppress our astonishment that no notice was taken, either by the directors or any other party, of the opinion recently expressed by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, and concurred in by her Majesty's government, of the illegality of the purchase, and therefore of the tenure, of the slaves held by that and other companies. To suppose the parties ignorant of this opinion is impossible; and it is all but impossible to suppose the existence of a company of English gentlemen, who, when informed that they have committed a felony, take no notice of the communication, and adopt no measures for repairing, as far as they may, their violation of the law. Is there any one of these gentlemen who, if he were duly informed that he had come feloniously by his watch, would not take measures for the immediate restoration of the property to its owner?

ON the day on which our last number was published, a second meeting of persons in Holland friendly to the abolition of slavery took place at the Hague, and was, as we anticipated, more numerously attended than on the first occasion. We have not yet received so full an account of the proceedings as we desire, but, from the information we have had, suppose that one sentiment prevailed as to the importance of emancipation, while there may have been some difference of opinion as to the mode in which this act of justice is to be sought. Our acquaintance with many friends of the slave in Holland leads us to entertain feelings of much respect towards individuals who, while entertaining opinions in some respects differing from each other, and in some instances from our own, are nevertheless desirous to fulfil the apostolic in-

Junction to "remember those who are in bonds as bound with them, and those who suffer adversity as being also in the body."

Instances have occurred in our own land where the subject of slavery has been long canvassed and reflected upon, in which the sincere friends of abolition have for a longer or shorter period differed in opinion, and such circumstances have for a while appeared to cast a cloud over the prospects of freedom for the negro. There has, however, existed with us a depth of feeling on this subject in some degree worthy of the great object sought after, which has not allowed the abolitionist ranks to be long inactive. Even persons entertaining different opinions on some points while seeking the same end, have sometimes provoked one another to exertion in their separate spheres of action, whether as individuals or societies; and, in two instances, at a moment of the greatest importance and interest, have united to strike the blow by which slavery and the apprenticeship were to be destroyed. Our knowledge of the friends of the slave in Holland encourages us to believe that a conduct not very dissimilar, and results equally cheering, will there take place. We would only, in taking leave of this subject for the present, remind our Dutch friends, that, every hour in which the system of slavery is allowed to exist, there is also to be found in connexion with it a fearful amount of suffering, demoralization, and premature death. We recommend our friends in Holland to peruse the notice of the *Voyage à Surinam* contained in the present number.

THE speech of Sir Charles Metcalfe on the opening of the legislative session in Jamaica (of which we have given a lengthened extract elsewhere) advert's to two topics of immediate interest to us. The one of these is the conduct of the peasantry, the other immigration.

On the former of these subjects the language of his Excellency is highly satisfactory. He states that "the general good conduct and orderly habits of the people, and their improved feelings towards their employers, are just grounds for unqualified congratulation;" that the want of continuous labour is not complained of "so generally as before;" that "the establishment of small freeholds among this class (the labourers), and the clearance and cultivation of land hitherto or for so long a time waste, are making continual and rapid strides, without removing the holders entirely from the labour market;" and that "we cannot but rejoice at so much good, and are bound to bear cheerfully its attendant difficulties." The value of these statements does not lie in their novelty—for they are not new—but in the high quarter from which they come. They will now carry weight with other nations.

On the subject of immigration his Excellency is very frank and communicative. We shall not now renew our quarrel with what we still deem to be the fallacious principle, that "an addition to the labouring population is requisite for the adequate cultivation of the land;" we shall rather direct attention to the views which are expressed respecting emigration from Europe. His Excellency admits the existence among European immigrants, of much disappointment and discontent on the one hand, and of much sickness and death on the other. He tells us too, that "an opinion appears to gain ground, that the ordinary rate of wages for labour is not adequate to meet all the wants of a European, considering the cost of the things which he and his family need or desire." He states further, that "the mode of life which the interior of the island offers" is so "different from that which they [Europeans] have been accustomed to prize," that they "are apt to prefer the vicinity of the large towns, for the most part situated in the lowlands, where the climate is least favourable to European constitutions." The plain English of all this courtly phraseology is—first, that European immigrants will not encounter the privations of the only places in Jamaica where they can live, but that, requiring the comforts afforded by the neighbourhood of a town, they are almost sure to place themselves where they speedily die:—and secondly, that the wages of labour, of which we have heard such loud and wicked vauntings, are not sufficient any where to supply the wants of an European family. These things being officially told us by the governor of Jamaica, they will now, we suppose, be beyond dispute. His Excellency, in fine, pronounces his opinion, "that indiscriminate importation [from Europe] is unadvisable;" and that, "under existing circumstances, emigration [from Europe] will be liable to disappointment to all parties." And he declares his intention of "limiting it to such numbers as can be accommodated *immediately after their arrival*," "on the properties of individuals, or in the public villages which it is proposed to establish." Here is an admission of all the alleged horrors of the Admiral's Pen—the dépôt for immigrants. This, it seems, is so crying a mischief that the governor means to do away with it. We hope the good sense of our fellow-countrymen, and the bitter experience which has already been had, will prevent his Excellency from having any further trouble on this score. But, "the public villages which it is intended to establish"—what be they? We should like a little amplification of this hint vastly.

To say one word more on the subject of immigration. We should think Sir Charles Metcalfe had much more completely discharged his duty, if he had recommended the house of assembly to institute an inquiry into the results of the immigration scheme, and the present condition of the immigrants. Why not, if the truth can bear to be told?

We have received a gratifying account from the Rev. T. E. Ward of the formation of an auxiliary Anti-slavery society for the parish of Portland, Jamaica. We would gladly have published

the proceedings, and an extract from Mr. Ward's letter, would the press of matter have permitted us.

It appears that the friends of humanity must exercise a jealous watchfulness, not only over the mode of obtaining emigrants from Africa to the West Indies, but also over the ships in which they are conveyed. We learn from the Barbados *Liberal* that the brig *Gipsey*, from Sierra Leone to Jamaica, with 132 emigrants on board, put into Bridgetown in that island in a leaky state, for repairs; upon which she underwent an examination, and was condemned as *not sea-worthy!* These poor creatures, therefore, had a narrow escape from a watery grave. On this startling fact our contemporary makes the following just and important observations:—

The particulars have not yet come to our knowledge, but there seems to have been grossly criminal neglect of duty somewhere. Her Majesty's government, having permitted emigration from Sierra Leone to these colonies, should surely for their own credit sake, to say nothing of humanity, provide for the careful superintendence, by responsible officers, of the measure in all its details, and the comfort and safety especially of the emigrants; and not leave these to the tender mercy of avaricious dealers, who engage in this, as in any other money making speculation, with a view only to the greatest amount of profit on the least outlay, and who would charter a cracked calabash for the purpose of conveyance, if it were feasible and productive of a few pounds more of profit. Let it be remembered too, that the negro is yet by many considered too insignificant a being for any scruples of conscience to be awakened in his behalf, and that no greater solicitude will be expended for him than is absolutely necessary to any given amount of gain from the undertaking. In the case before us, here are 132 of these insignificant beings crammed, upon speculation, into a crazy, leaking vessel, altogether un-seaworthy, for a voyage of four or five weeks—as likely to have been a voyage to eternity as to Jamaica! Our friends in Great Britain must look to this, and government must be brought to look to it.

SOME facts of a very grave nature of which we have been put in possession, but of which we are not at liberty to speak more implicitly at present, give rise to a belief that very artful and suspicious measures are in course of adoption by the West India interest, in order to obtain the sanction of Her Majesty's government to an extended system of emigration from Africa. Free emigration, no doubt, it will be called; but it will be substantially a renewal of the slave-trade. The object of this movement is as objectionable as the movement itself. It is, we understand, to frighten or to coerce the present labourers into a reduction of wages. We shall probably return to this subject.

A PRIVATE letter from Mr. Lewis Tappan to Mr. Sturge supplies some interesting intelligence respecting the Amistad captives.

New York, November 21st, 1841.

On the 3rd instant I went to Boston, Haverhill, Lowell, Nashua, Andover, Springfield, Northampton, and Hartford, with ten of the Mendians, and during twelve days, held fifteen public meetings. The principal object was to raise funds for their outfit and passage to Sierra Leone, and the support of religious teachers in Mendi. The collateral objects were to show the acquisitions in civilization and knowledge made by the Mendians—to excite sympathy—and to encourage friendly and peaceful feelings on behalf of the contemplated mission in Mendi. Great interest was manifested wherever we went. At Farmington they all attended a farewell meeting last Wednesday. Twenty ministers and a large concourse of persons attended. The Rev. Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, preached on prejudice against colour, and 1300 dollars were contributed. Yesterday the Mendians all arrived here. We expect they will embark this week (on Wednesday) for Sierra Leone, with three religious teachers.

Literary Notice.

Voyage à Surinam, par P. J. Benoit, avec cent dessins, pris sus nature par l'auteur.

Voyage to Surinam by J. P. Benoit, with one hundred engravings taken from nature by the author.

We confess that we feel a deep interest, not only in those unhappy beings who are held in slavery, but in those regions which have witnessed, or are still witnessing, their unjust sufferings. We feel a desire to become acquainted with the locality of those countries which the cupidity of man has converted into prison houses to be opened only by death, unless, in the over-ruling Providence of Him who is not unmindful of the meanest of his creatures, an act of emancipation, hitherto the heritage only of the British slave, shall strike off the intolerable fetters of the slave in other lands.

It is an interesting and affecting consideration, that many of those regions to which we are alluding are possessed of uncommon natural beauties—that, in the words of the poet applied to the lovely island of Ceylon, "and only man is vile." With these sentiments, and hoping to find some information which might throw light on the system and effects of slavery in Surinam, we took up the *Voyage à Surinam*, and turned over its interesting pages and beautiful illustrations. We have not been altogether disappointed in our expectations, although it has evidently formed no part of the intention of the writer to paint slavery in too dark colours, as the character of the first extract we shall make to which others might have been added will sufficiently prove.

With these few observations we proceed to make a few extracts on some topics of importance, on which information is given, and which will, we think, be read with interest, in most instances of a painful character.

MILD CHARACTER OF SLAVERY IN SURINAM, p. 65.

We ourselves have seen the negro population treated with the greatest

mildness. Besides, and this is an act of justice that cannot be refused to the Dutch, few nations have understood how to establish their colonial authority by means more consistent with the duties owing to society or more consistent with humanity.

CLANDESTINE SLAVE-TRADE.

Notwithstanding the severity exercised by the government in attempting to suppress the slave-trade, and in despite of the laws, new negroes are continually introduced in a fraudulent manner, of whom the greater number are taken to the upper part of the country, where the want of labour renders them almost indispensable, and where the prosperity of the plantations depends principally on the labour of slaves.

COMPARISON OF JAVA AND SURINAM. ANTICIPATIONS OF THE FUTURE PROSPERITY OF SURINAM, AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE ENORMOUS BURDEN WHICH IT HAS HITHERTO BEEN TO THE DUTCH PEOPLE, p. 64.

It is known to what a high degree of splendour the colony of Java has attained. That of Surinam is at present far, it must be acknowledged, from having reached the same prosperity. Surinam has however had greater difficulties to experience than Java.

We believe, however, that Surinam is called to a better destiny. Under the wise and skilful administration to which this establishment is confided, there is no doubt that it will soon be able to furnish, like that of the East Indies, an abundant source of riches to the mother country, and compensate by its produce the enormous and continual sacrifices which it has not ceased to require, in order to maintain and improve it during so long a period, and under the weight of such unhappy circumstances.

DEGRADATION OF THE FEMALE CHARACTER, p. 21.

The women in the lower class of society are immoral, and use a licence in conversation which far exceeds the bounds of decorum. Discourses and language which would revolt every respectable woman in Europe do not, in the least, provoke their indignation. Their want of modesty proceeds so far, that they appear to be flattered by that which is justly regarded by us as an odious outrage; they see in an infamous proposition a kind of preference with which they feel honoured.

TREATMENT OF A SLAVE MOTHER, p. 54.

The negroes frequently continue an attention to their labour up to the day in which they are confined. The period being arrived to resume their daily occupation, which is generally seven or eight days after that of their confinement, the mother wraps her infant in a piece of linen leaving its limbs free; places it upon her back, and proceeds to her work.

SALE OF SLAVES, p. 55.

Although the slave-trade is abolished, the sales of creole slaves is seen almost daily, in consequence of the decence of those who have possessed them, or from dissatisfaction on the part of masters, who consequently wish to get rid of them.

AFFECTING INSTANCE OF THE SALE OF A FEMALE SLAVE ABOUT TO HAVE BEEN MARRIED TO HER MASTER, AND HER TWO CHILDREN, p. 55.

I saw one day a young and very beautiful creole, who lived with one of my friends, and whom (she having borne him two children) he intended to have freed. He died the same day on which he had arranged to have gone to town for the purpose of performing the act of enfranchisement. By this unexpected misfortune, this unfortunate woman, who was already considered as the mistress of the house, and who was about to become the wife of her master, found herself all at once, by his death, plunged again with her children into the condition of a slave. The three were sold together as such. This sale was a truly painful and heart-rending spectacle. It was a scene of misery difficult to describe. The poor mother drew tears from the eyes of all those who had known her, and who already regarded her as a legitimate wife and a free person.

NOTICE OF THE EMPLOYMENTS AND HARDSHIPS OF THE SLAVE, p. 56.

Thus commences, if we may so speak, from the cradle, that exercise which gives the slave population in so astonishing a manner the fullest use of their limbs, and prepares them for those hard and severe labours which they are afterwards destined to perform during the whole period of their existence. They acquire, at the same time, a vigour of body which prepares them for fatigue of every kind, and a robust health which resists easily the privations to which they are sometimes exposed, and the food, generally bad and containing little nutriment, which is usually given to them.

PROPRIETY OF GIVING WAGES, AND PROBABLE GOOD EFFECTS, p. 19.

The greater part of the workmen or artizans are obliged to bring all that they earn to their masters, who hire them out frequently to persons of different trades, who require their services. Would it not be just, and even useful, that these wretched beings should have a part of that which they gain by the sweat of their brow? For almost all are naturally very much inclined to theft, and it would, no doubt, be seen, in showing more justice with respect to them, that those small house thefts which so frequently take place in the town would lessen in number, and perhaps altogether cease.

UNITED STATES.

EXTRACT of a letter from Samuel Webb to Joseph Sturge, dated Philadelphia, 11th Month 6th, 1841.

The state of New York has done well. Our whole abolition vote throughout the Union will be nearly twenty-one thousand, about three times the number which we polled at the late presidential election.

Great Britain could abolish slavery in the United States of America in less time, and with less money, than was expended in abolishing slavery in her own islands, if you would concentrate your efforts upon raising cotton in India. By ameliorating the condition of the natives of that land (favoured by heaven but abased by man), which wants nothing but that its inhabitants should be treated, as British subjects ought to be, upon terms of perfect equality with other British subjects, what a market would open for your goods! Give the people of India a fee-simple title to the lands (a small quantity to each—just as much as he could keep under profitable cultivation, and no more), make the produce which they might raise thereon secure to the cultivators, with only a small tax upon the profits—and it would yield a greater revenue than the present tyrannical mode of seizing upon all. You now take away all inducement to raise large crops. Besides, keeping people so poorly fed prevents them from doing much work. Let them have a fair renumeration, and let them be secured in the enjoyment of their earnings, and it would open a market for your goods better than you ever found in this country. Thus,

"Where Britain's power is felt, mankind would feel her mercy too."

Extract of a letter from James C. Fuller to Joseph Sturge, dated Shanenteles, 11th Month 12th, 1841.

To-day I have remitted 800 dollars to pay for 200 acres of land, whereon to commence the Canada Manual-Labour School. Slaves are pouring into Canada. Hiram Wilson tells me (in a letter received from him yesterday) that, as he crossed the Lake (Ontario), on board the steamer were three men and three women (a mother and her two daughters), all from Virginia, and that they were anxious to go to Hiram Wilson's. He informed them that he was the man, and took them to his house. Within one hour another woman came to his door, who had come up from Darien, in Georgia. God protects them in their flight, and his Providence throws them on the abolitionists of this and thy land, demanding of us some care, and a good deal of mental culture. Shall they ask for it in vain?—I hope and believe not.

JAMAICA NEWS.

EXTRACT of a private letter, dated Kingston, November 1st.—I am sorry to say that political opinion is now running very high here, and very desperate attempts have been, and are now being made to bring back as much as possible the old state of things. Many of the laws passed last session have been most partial and oppressive in their operation. Our legally appointed and educated judges have proved themselves no less actuated by party bias and prejudice than their uneducated and *planting* predecessors. Three magistrates are now confined in Kingston jail, for no other offence than interfering with a mob and preventing a serious riot, occasioned by the overbearing and imprudent orders of Hector Mitchell, the mayor; to stop the people's usual Christmas amusements, such orders not having been published, or even communicated to the city magistrates, but given privately to the police—yet, for infringing on an order they knew nothing of Mr. Daniel Hart has been fined £200 sterling and suffers three months imprisonment, and the other two £100 each, and two months imprisonment while a stipendiary magistrate, also "found guilty," and who (if there were any guilt at all which I do not believe) was the most guilty of the whole, being a legally educated gentleman, and the adviser of the whole proceeding, was only fined £50. Such gross partiality has awakened universal indignation, even in Jamaica; and several numerously signed petitions have been sent to the governor for their release.

Immigration has also been a fruitful source of misery and death. I would require a volume to record the cruelty which they have been exposed to. I should imagine full 50 per cent. of those who have arrived are not in their graves, and numbers of others are wandering in our streets and roads in the utmost misery and desitution.

We find the following recent exhibition of Dr. Paul:—

Kingston, September 22nd, 1841.

[Before Justices MORFSEY AND PRICE.]

Dr. Paul sub-agent, of the Immigration Society, appeared to answer a complaint of Maria Parraway, for an assault on her son, a child about 13 years of age, and to claim restitution of her child.

She stated that she was a native of America, and arrived here last November as an immigrant, with her husband, seven children, and an aged father. That her husband dying eight days after their arrival, she then engaged herself to Dr. Ewart as a servant at the "immigration dépôt," Admiral's Pen. There were goats there, and her son used to carry the milk every morning to Dr. Paul's house, he used very frequently to be kept there to do things, and ultimately, at Christmas, Dr. Paul kept the boy altogether.

She then went and told Dr. Paul that as she had promised to place the boy with Mr. Duper on the 1st of January 1841, to learn the business of a shoemaker, she wished to know what Dr. Paul intended to do with him. He said that he would take him into his service. She said that as Dr. Paul had paid something (about twenty dollars), John should remain and work out that sum. The twenty dollars were for the freight of her furniture from America in the immigration vessel.

Mr. Daly asked plaintiff what things she had brought and was thus charged for, whether they were only her own furniture necessary for domestic use and comfort, or goods for merchandize.

Plaintiff said that they consisted wholly of such furniture as they had used before in America, and as was absolutely necessary for their use here.

Mr. Daly said, that he considered it unreasonable to charge this family with the expenses of freight for furniture which they had been using in their native country, and which was intended for their domestic use here. Was it ever to be supposed that they could ever be happy or contented, if they had not at least as many comforts in their *new country* as they had been accustomed to in the land of their nativity? He apprehended that the agents should have paid the amount for the freight of furniture.

Dr. Paul, you have nothing to do with that, sir.

Mr. Daly, I beg to differ with you. This is a poor foreigner, and I wish to see her protected by means of this charge which has been insidiously fixed on her husband, I find her son detained in your service for nearly twelve months without any consideration, than the liquidation of a debt owing by his deceased father, and which in my opinion should have been paid out of the Immigration fund.

Maria Parraway continued. On Tuesday last, the little boy came home crying, and said that he had been sent on an errand and had overstay his time, that on his return Dr. Paul made his bitter whip him while he himself held him. I then went to Dr. Paul, and said, that I had heard John's story about the matter, and had come to inquire into the particulars. The doctor said, "he wished to hear nothing from me, and would not allow me to interfere with his domestics." I said, I merely wished to know what the boy had done and thought that he was the properest person to give me information. He would not listen to me, but said the boy was flogged by his orders, and he would repeat it to-morrow if necessary. I then came away, and left my boy as though I had left him in his grave.

Next day I went to Mr. Justice Daly, and applied for protection, and that I might get my boy restored to me. Mr. Daly said that he did not wish to interfere with Dr. Paul, as he appeared to turn strange notions respecting his former interference on behalf of the immigrants, but he would put me in the way to obtain redress, and told me to come down to the magistrates in Kingston, and I did so yesterday.

Dr. Paul admitted that he punished the boy in the manner stated, and observed that he would do so again.

The magistrates asked Dr. Paul if he would restore the boy to his mother. He said that he would not, as were he to do so, it would be an admission of the charge brought against him.

Mr. Moresby observed, that the mother did not dwell so much on the case of assault, which did not appear to be attended with any particular circumstances of cruelty, but rather the mode of punishment, and the refusal of the doctor to listen to her inquiries respecting the cause of punishment. Dr. Paul, however, persisted in refusing to deliver up the boy.

The magistrates, in giving judgment, observed :

That the boy had been employed by Dr. Paul as an immigrant, in consideration of the sum of eighteen dollars paid by Dr. Paul to the captain of the ship for the freight of furniture. That detaining the boy for the debts of a deceased father was illegal. Dr. Paul was therefore ordered to deliver the boy up to his mother, and to pay all the expenses of the court.

Dr. Paul (making a most sarcastic and insolent bow to the bench), "Most equitable decision!"

Justice Moresby warned him to behave with propriety, or he should feel it his duty to protect the court from insolence.

He then asked how he was to recover the eighteen dollars paid for freight (for which it appears he had already received nine months services from the boy). Justice Moresby said, "he was open to his remedy at law."

Dr. Paul. "I want to know how I am to get back the clothes from the boy."

Mr. Moresby thought that, as the boy had received so little advantages for his nine months' labour, Dr. Paul could scarcely wish to deprive him of his little apparel.

FRENCH SLAVE-TRADE.

[From the Parliamentary Papers.]

THE Slave-trade correspondence contains numerous papers relating to the purchase of slaves on the coast of Africa for the French government. The following will give a general idea of the transactions, and of the course adopted by the British government.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO M. GUIZOT.

Foreign Office, August 5th, 1840.

Sir,—With reference to the correspondence which has taken place between her Majesty's government and the government of the King of the French, respecting a contract entered into by the colonial authorities of Goree for the supply of 600 slaves for service in the French settlements, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency extracts from some letters containing information on the subject in question, which have been received from a person of respectability well known and resident in that part of Africa whence the slaves were to be procured.

In transmitting to your Excellency these papers, I cannot avoid requesting you to draw the attention of your government to the circumstance, that, if the plan of contracting for the purchase of slaves for the military service of France were to be continued, the inevitable consequence would be the revival of all the evils attendant upon the slave-trade, the renewal of wars among the native tribes, and the destruction of legitimate commerce between them and the nations of Europe.

For the example thus set by the French government would encourage private adventurers, who would be emboldened by the sanction given by France to the practice of purchasing slaves; and thus the French government would be the means of perpetuating the existence of a traffic which they denounce as criminal, and which the King of the French has by treaty bound himself to put down. I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

Sierra Leone, December 31st, 1839.

My LORD,—We have the honour to transmit to your lordship, enclosed, a copy of some extracts from letters written during the present month to her Majesty's commissary judge, on the subject of a contract entered into by the French government of Goree for the supply of 600 slaves for the service of the French settlements on the Senegal.

In submitting these papers for your lordship's consideration, it will hardly be necessary to allude to those unhappy effects which must obviously result from this infraction of law and treaty on the part of the French government. The revival of the slave-trade, with all its attendant horrors, in our immediate neighbourhood—wars and dissensions amongst the native tribes—the destruction of a legitimate commerce carried on by our own subjects in the Rio Nunez and adjacent rivers, which is yearly increasing in value and importance—are some of the immediate consequences to be apprehended. But, if France now contract for the supply of 600 slaves for the service of her colonies on the river Senegal, what is to prevent her keeping up that supply by similar means? What is to prevent her contracting for the purchase and transport of 6000, and eventually even of 60,000 African slaves, for the use of her colonies in the West Indies and elsewhere; and thus perpetuating on this coast the existence of a traffic, which she is all the while denouncing as odious and inhuman?

The extraordinary plea urged by France to justify this disregard of her solemn engagements with Great Britain and numerous other powers, is the desire to raise a black force for the defence of her settlements on this coast; and she may perhaps point to our black troops in the Royal African corps and the different West India regiments. The negroes, however, who compose the recruits in our service are not reduced into slavery, and purchased and paid for by the government, but belong almost exclusively to the body of liberated Africans located at Sierra Leone. Having been rescued from the holds of slave-ships by the exertions of our squadron, and emancipated by the decree of a competent court, they voluntarily enlist in a service where they are entitled to the pay, the food, the clothing, the pension, and every other privilege of a British soldier; and all undue persuasion to enlist is equally opposed to the articles of war, and to the practice of the recruiting officers at this station. No parallel indeed can be drawn between our mode of enlisting black troops, which differs in no respect from the method pursued in England of increasing our military force, and the system of kidnapping, driving, chaining, barbecuing, and shipping the slaves, whom Kyetan and other notorious slave-dealers on this coast have contracted to supply to the French government, at from 60 dollars to 80 dollars per head; the very highest price given for prime slaves for the Cuba market.

We may perhaps be likewise referred to the system of recruiting fol-

lowed by the Dutch General Verveer in the kingdom of Ashantee, which occasioned so much correspondence between the British and Netherlands governments in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838. But, dangerous and objectionable as that system was, it differed in many important particulars from the downright buying and selling of slaves to which the French government looks, as the means of obtaining negro troops for the service of their colonies. We have, &c.

(Signed)

H. W. MACAULAY.

R. DOHERTY.

Extract from a Letter to H. W. MACAULAY, Esq., dated Rio Nunez,

December 1st, 1839.

Knowing how readily the natives catch at a bait such as the re-opening of the slave-trade would be, the French purpose applying to the Naloos for a spot of ground whereon to establish a factory for the purchase of 600 slaves, to be made soldiers of for the use of the government. They have gone so far as to receive tenders from the merchants of St. Louis for the supply of these 600 slaves, and the tenders have varied from fifty dollars to eighty dollars per head. The Frenchmen here are daily expecting two or three vessels from Senegal, under convoy of *La Fine*, to carry this project into execution. Of course it is to be under the auspices and protection of the French government.

As you will doubtless wish to communicate this circumstance to the government at home, you have permission to make use of this letter, and it is but right you should have my authority for the statement. Mr. —, on his late visit to Goree, was informed of these intentions by the commandant of Goree, and also by the commandant of the French man-of-war, *La Fine*, as well as by the party who had tendered for the supply at eighty dollars per head, who was very eager for information as to the extent of the slave-trade to be carried on here.

To suppose that French subjects, having once revived the slave-trade under the auspices of government and for government purposes, will halt after purchasing 600 or even 6000 slaves, would betray a total ignorance of human nature when engaged in these transactions.

The government will, of course, have the option of rejecting such as are not suitable for soldiers. What is to be done with the rejected, and the numbers of women and children, who must be bought along with the able-bodied men, if offered for sale? Why, they will suit the Spanish and other slave-traders in the Rio Pongas, and means will probably be found to ship them direct from hence to Cuba.

I need hardly allude to the mass of evil consequences which will follow the revival of the slave-trade under these circumstances; the nuisance and injury it will be to the pursuits of legitimate commerce; the disturbances that must follow; the insecurity of property that it will give rise to; and the protection we shall necessarily require from the naval authorities. I know you will do all in your power to thwart the iniquitous views of the French, but I fear the information comes too late to blight the evil project in the bud.

Another consideration of importance is, that, when the French have succeeded in obtaining this supply of 600 able-bodied men for the service of their settlements on the banks of the Senegal, they will find out that they require 800 or 1000 for the use of Martinique and Guadaloupe, 300 or 400 for Cayenne, 1500 or 2000 for their new settlements on the Amazon, and more again for some of their recent conquests. Thus the slave-trade will be perpetuated by France, when Great Britain is using every exertion to suppress it.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO EARL GRANVILLE.

Foreign Office, June 11th, 1840.

MY LORD,—Since I addressed to your Excellency my despatch of the 4th instant, upon the subject of the purchase of negroes in Africa by order of the French government, a communication has been received at this office from the colonial department, stating that the *Sénégambie*, one of the vessels employed in transporting from Africa the negroes in question, has been condemned in the Vice Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, on the ground that she was found in British waters equipped for slave-trade, contrary to the provisions of British laws.

I transmit herewith to your lordship a copy of that communication and of its enclosures, together with a memorandum containing an abstract of the contents of those papers.

I have to instruct your Excellency to transmit to the French government a copy of that abstract, together with a note, in which you will state that her Majesty's government, being well convinced that the government of France is animated by a sincere desire to put down the slave-trade, is anxious to draw the attention of that government to the direct and inevitable tendency which this purchase of negroes by the French government must have, not merely to encourage the slave-trade but to give to that trade the apparent sanction of the example of the French government.

The objections which have been urged against the slave-trade are two-fold:—

First, that it is an unjustifiable cruelty to seize the natives of Africa, and to carry them away by force from their own country to other parts of the world, in order there to make them perform labour and to engage in occupations not of their own choice.

And, secondly, that the demand for human beings as articles of traffic on the coast of Africa keeps up among the Africans the practice of war for man-stealing, and occasions an infinite variety of crimes and atrocities, which are committed in the course of this traffic. Now, although the French authorities at Senegal contend that the negroes which they are employed in purchasing, in order to send them to Cayenne to be made pioneers, that is to say, military labourers, are bought out of slavery, and are to be immediately made free, yet it is obvious that this is only a nominal and not a real distinction, and the purchase is in truth slave-trade, and is open to all the objections to which that traffic is liable.

For these negroes do not enlist of their own accord into the French service, but are handed over to the French authorities by force; are carried away from their own to a foreign country by force; are to be kept down by force during the voyage, and, instead of being free agents when they arrive at the end of their voyage, are then to be compelled by force to labour.

Their condition, therefore, notwithstanding the pretended certificate of manumission, is in all respects that of slavery.

But, even if this were not so, and if these negroes were really made free by the French government, still a contract made by the French authorities

with notorious slave-dealers to procure and sell to the French government a given number of negroes, is, in the strictest sense of the term, an act of slave-trade, and must produce in Africa just the same effect as would a similar contract made by any sugar-planter in the West Indies or in the Brazils.

The slave-dealer who contracts to furnish these negroes must capture them, or employ other persons to do so; and all those crimes which slave-dealing occasions in Africa are thereby directly occasioned by an act of the French authorities.

If the object of the French government had really been to emancipate a given number of slaves, it would seem that this object might better have been accomplished by purchasing so many slaves in one of the French colonies, and by freeing those slaves on condition of their enlisting a limited time as soldiers in the French service. I am, &c.

(Signed)
GOVERNOR DOHERTY TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Government House, Sierra Leone, March 28th, 1840.

MY LORD.—I have the honour to acquaint your lordship with the recent condemnation as prize, in the court of Vice Admiralty of this colony, for being equipped for the slave-trade in the waters of Bathurst, on the Gambia, of a French schooner, called the *Sénégal*, Senegal, master, detained while sailing under the colours of France by her Majesty's brig *Saracen*, Lieutenant H. W. Hill, commanding.

The circumstances under which this vessel had engaged in the illicit object of her voyage, and which have accompanied and followed her condemnation, are so unusual, that I deem it necessary to report them to your lordship for the information of her Majesty's government.

During the month of October last an agreement was concluded at St. Louis, in the French settlement of Senegal, between the administration of that colony and Messrs. Pellen and Marbeau, a mercantile house belonging to it, for the supply to the Senegal government of 100 young negroes, to be delivered within a prescribed period at the island of Goree. The negroes presented at Goree in pursuance of this agreement, were to be received or rejected on the decision of what was termed a recruiting commission, and to be embarked within the space of three months for the settlement of Cayenne, there to serve with the troops of that colony as a company of pioneers.

Those slaves were to be purchased in the usual manner on the coast of Africa, and it was provided that an escort of a schooner of war should accompany the vessel employed to transport them from the place of their purchase to Goree.

This contract has been partly executed by means of one successful voyage undertaken by the *Sénégal* to the Rio Nunez, and the islands of Bissao and Cacheo; from which places that schooner returned to Goree with a cargo of 60 negroes, chiefly purchased from the notorious Kyetan, and of these 30 were rejected. Seventy, therefore, remained to be procured in order to complete the engagements of the contract, and the vessel was proceeding a second time to the Nunez and Bissao for another cargo, when, calling at St. Mary's to land there the brother of one of her owners, she was there detained.

On these voyages the escort consisted, and was to consist, of two schooners of war, and not of one only, as promised in the agreement. Under their convoy and command the *Sénégal* was formally placed; receiving written orders to sail at a distance of not more than two cable-lengths a-head or astern of them; and being furnished with a scheme of signals for communicating with the officer in command of the principal vessel. But being, as I have stated, on the outward voyage when her detention by the *Saracen* took place, this escort was not then in attendance upon her.

Having effected the detention in British waters, Lieutenant Hill despatched his capture for adjudication to this colony. She arrived here on the 19th of February, and her condemnation in the court of Vice-Admiralty took place on the 4th instant.

The several persons found on board at the time of seizure, and brought hither with the vessel, and who, on their arrival, had been arrested on the charge of slave dealing, and on that charge detained in custody, were then fully examined, and committed for trial at the quarter sessions; two passengers among the number, the brother namely of the owner Pellen, and a seaman belonging to the escort, declining to avail themselves of an offer made to release them on bail. Those two persons, with three carpenters who had been employed at the Gambia to caulk the vessel, were finally discharged at the sessions on the finding of the grand jury. But a true bill being returned against the master, supercargo, and crew, they were tried by the court of the royal commission on the 20th inst., and were sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

In the mean time the schooner of his Majesty the King of the French, *La Rachel*, Lieutenant A. Cournes, commanding, had arrived in the harbour on the 14th, having on board Monsieur Marbeau, the principal contractor, who was already bound over to take his trial at the Gambia, and bearing a letter from the governor of Senegal, in which that functionary avowed the enterprise of the *Sénégal* as the act of his government, and affected to treat the detention by Lieutenant Hill as an act of aggression upon a friendly flag, declaring at the same time the innocence of the vessel in respect of the illicit traffic, and expressing his reliance on the courts and on my support for her release. To such a letter it was, of course, impossible for me to give any reply that could be satisfactory to the French governor.

On examining the enclosures, your lordship will not fail to observe, that the defence or excuse provided for the whole of this transaction, is to be found in that clause of the contract which declares that the negroes furnished by the contractors are to be bought out of slavery, and shall previously to their transport to Goree receive their freedom by a formal deed of emancipation, to be executed by a government agent appointed for the purpose, who, as he informed me, was the same Lieutenant Cournes at that time in command of the French schooner of war *La Cigale*, who has now been the bearer of the governor of Senegal's remonstrance. Those freemen, however, were not thereafter to exercise the ordinary privilege of liberty in disposing at will of their own persons; but were, in terms of the agreement, to be delivered over at a stipulated price to the authorities at Goree, unless by them refused, when they were to be left in the possession or for the account, as it is expressed, of the contractors; and I would crave your lordship's particular attention to this circumstance.

It is, indeed, stated that the entire numbers—both the rejected and the received—were to be placed with their respective masters in the character, not of absolute property, but of persons engaged or hired for a certain period of time. But allowing this to have been the real design, I believe it will scarcely be alleged that the buying of negroes on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of using their labour for any term is anything other than the offence of dealing in slaves, whether this labour is to be employed in military service, or in that of a private master; and, if we suppose the French colonial government to have been so far sincere in their use of an expression which implies a temporary engagement, as to have intended to grant their discharge at some remote period to such of those people as they accepted for soldiers, I would request your lordship to judge how far it is probable that Messrs. Pellen and Marbeau, the purchasers of these men, having equally given their money and time, and the labour and risk of their own voyage, for the individuals rejected as for those received, would, in a slave colony, release them from their servitude, incurred with the approbation of the government, upon any conditions save that of having their value in the slave market paid or otherwise satisfied to them from some new quarter, or would treat and regard them otherwise than as slaves.

It will be seen at the same time by the affidavit of seizure, that, after being presented with their freedom, those persons were to be confined on board of ship under hatches secured with iron bars, according to the invariable practice of slave vessels; and, in fine, that both parties to the transaction did themselves feel how gross was the pretext of emancipation and hire, and were themselves fully conscious of the indefensible nature of the act they were committing, and the liability to which it exposed them, is sufficiently evinced by the circumstance of the escort provided to attend the vessel, and by such a precaution as that of preparing a signal for a suspicious sail in sight.

Nor will the argument against the adjudication, which is used, not indeed by the governor of Senegal himself, but in the letter of his officer, and which was much insisted on by that gentleman in a personal interview—the argument, namely, that the slave-trade treaty with France removed French vessels accused of being engaged in the slave-trade in British waters from the jurisdiction of English courts, provided those waters lie within the latitudes which it specifies, appear to your lordship more tenable. The treaty with France could in no respect abrogate or affect the national laws of either power on the subject, even if it were not stated, as it is in the preamble of that treaty, that the object of it was to render more effectual the means of suppression which were previously in force. Upon the contrary supposition, it would obviously be in the power, both of French vessels and of vessels of other nations with which Great Britain has treaties on the model of that of France, to ship slaves with impunity from the colony itself, and even during the presence in the harbour of her Majesty's cruisers, provided those cruisers should happen to be unfurnished with instructions under the treaty or treaties with the particular nation of the slave; while, supposing them to be so furnished, a French vessel would still be able to attempt the same outrage, under no other penalty in case of failure than that of being sent to Goree for trial.

To what extent undertakings similar to the one which has now come to light have been meditated by the Senegal government, or how far they may have already been attempted with success, does not appear with any certainty. But the present transaction is believed to form only a part of a greater scheme. Intelligence to this effect, both written and verbal, has been received from the Rio Nunez, the former by the mixed commission and the latter by myself. Her Majesty's commissioners have recently reported their information to Viscount Palmerston; and it appears from it, not only that the *Sénégal* and her escort in their search for slaves had penetrated into the Nunez, as I have stated, but that it was in contemplation to establish a French factory on that river for the purchase, in the first instance, of 600.

It is another important question, to what degree those proceedings may affect the honour and good faith of the government of France itself. It will be noticed that the contract is declared to be passed agreeably to an instruction contained in a despatch of the French minister, dated the 31st May, 1839, No. 108. But the terms of that instruction are not given.

The *Sénégal*, which is incorrectly stated in the deed admitting her to the privileges of a French vessel to have been built in Sierra Leone, was a condemned Portuguese slaver, named the *Prova*, which was sold here at a mixed commission sale, in the month of November, 1838. As, on this new condemnation she has been again disposed of to her former purchaser, sometime a merchant at the Gambia, and intimately connected in trade with Senegal and Goree, she may and probably will return into the possession of her late owners, and may by them be once more employed in the same guilty enterprise in which she has now failed of success.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. DOHERTY, Governor.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The following should have appeared in our last number, but were by mistake omitted:—

	£. s. d.
Alexander, G. W., Lombard Street	50 0 0
Zachary Thomas, Bewdley, Worcestershire	5 0 0
A few Friends of Abolition in Denmark	4 19 6
Wilmot, Sir J. E., Bart. (omitted at the time it was paid through the oversight of one of our friends)	10 0 0
Birmingham—The Female Anti-slavery Society at Bond Street	10 0 0
Baptist Chapel	10 0 0
M. C., per Joseph Sturge	10 0 0
The following have been received since our last was published:—	
Forster, Joseph T., Springfield, Clapton	10 0 0
Forster, Robert, Tottenham	5 0 0
A Friend, per ditto	50 0 0

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